

Senators beginning with 10 minutes each. Then what is to follow thereafter?

Mr. KERRY. At that point I would hope that Senator FEINGOLD and I would have an opportunity to introduce the amendment itself.

Mr. WARNER. Therefore using what amount of time?

Mr. KERRY. As I said, we would like 30 minutes each, and then we will come back afterwards.

Mr. WARNER. So we are back to the hour and 20 minutes on that side before we receive any time on this side?

Mr. KERRY. We won't even introduce the amendment, if we don't do that.

Mr. WARNER. The amendment has been here for some time. I have had an opportunity to examine it.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. BYRD. Before the Senator does that, may I inject—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator withhold his request?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, out of respect for our distinguished colleague.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair, and I thank my distinguished friend from Virginia, Senator WARNER.

I have an amendment. I would at least like to debate it or have some time to speak on it. I was hoping that I might be able to speak for not to exceed 30 minutes on my amendment. I would like to throw that in the mix.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry: To inform both the senior Senator from West Virginia, myself, and others, what is the order before the Senate at this time? My understanding is the Kerry-Feingold amendment with an unlimited amount of time on it and there is no provision for other amendments at this time; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The Senator from Massachusetts, under the previous agreement, was to be recognized for his amendment at this time.

Mr. WARNER. I say to my good friend, the order has been in for some 24 hours by which this is the amendment. The time allocation is under the control of the two managers. We will work that out momentarily, hopefully on an equitable basis. I do not at this point in time see the opportunity for the introduction of your amendment, I say with due respect, until such time as the debate on the Kerry-Feingold amendment is concluded.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have not heard all of the debate, but from what I have heard, I don't think that another Senator, this Senator, would be precluded from asking for time to explain his amendment. Now if the agreement may preclude other amendments—I don't know whether it does or not. If it does, then that is one thing. But I have an amendment, and I would like to speak on it. I wonder if Senators wouldn't allow me to speak. I have four to six pages. I can do those in 40 minutes or less.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I would be more than happy to accommodate my distinguished friend and leader. I simply say that unless we amend the order at this point, I do not see that opportunity. I will be glad to put in a quorum in hopes that we can resolve not only the time allocation on this side but how we could accommodate our distinguished colleague from West Virginia.

Mr. LEVIN. I suggest that the two Senators who need 10 minutes each be recognized now and that we try to negotiate these various time needs during their presentation.

Mr. WARNER. That is a very reasonable request. I now ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Illinois be—

Mr. KERRY. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President, could I please have the unanimous consent request stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous consent request is the following—

Mr. WARNER. That the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Illinois be recognized at this time seriatim for 10 minutes each, during which time we are going to try to negotiate the time allowance. Then at the end of that 20 minutes, we resume under the standing order of the Senate and the Kerry amendment goes back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I intend to vote for the Levin-Reed amendment on Iraq, and I will also vote for the Kerry amendment, of which I am a co-sponsor.

Both amendments are a step in the right direction, as they finally begin the process of winding down what has been the most poorly conceived, costly, and tragic misuse of United States military power since Vietnam.

We got into this war for reasons that bear little if any resemblance to the reasons the White House gives for keeping our troops there today at a cost of more than a billion dollars every week.

First it was weapons of mass destruction. There were none. Anyone who urged continued monitoring by United Nations inspectors was ridiculed by the White House as being naive.

Then it was Saddam Hussein's supposed ties to al-Qaida, which was a blatant, calculated distortion.

There was none, yet the Vice President continues to say there was. Today, thanks to the policy of the President and the rubber stamping by the Congress, Iraq and Guantanamo are the rallying cry for terrorists around the world.

Then it was because Saddam Hussein—who posed no threat to the United States—was a brutal dictator, which he was. He was also supported by the Reagan administration.

That, however, is not a justification for a war that has cost the lives and

limbs of thousands of young Americans and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.

Winning against terrorism, like stopping the proliferation of dangerous weapons, promoting peace between Arabs and Israelis, or solving any other regional or global problem, requires the trust, the respect, the cooperation and the support of our allies.

Unfortunately, these, too, are casualties of this war. Squandered away.

The damage that this reckless adventure has caused to our reputation, particularly among the world's Muslims in countries like Turkey, Jordan, Indonesia, Egypt and other traditional allies, is incalculable.

We have heard a lot of partisan rhetoric about cutting and running. How easy it is to ask others to fight and die from the safety and comfort of an office in Washington.

How easy it is to vote for tax cuts and to self-righteously wave the flag, while our troops are scavenging for scraps of metal to protect themselves from IEDs. They were sent to fight and die without armor, by top Pentagon officials back home who proudly, dismissively and resolutely insisted they were ready, when they were not.

How easy it is to mislead the country, with patriotic pronouncements by the President like "mission accomplished," or that we are seeing the "last throes" of the insurgency.

Contrary to the blatantly partisan and false attacks of the President's political advisors, no one questions the threat that al-Qaida and other terrorist networks pose to the security of Americans and to the people of other nations.

No one questions that we need an effective strategy to combat it. The issue is how best to combat it.

This administration has shown the world how not to do it, creating a lengthening catalogue of squander.

You don't do it by starting a war with selective, faulty intelligence, by dismissing thoughtful criticism as unpatriotic, without enough troops, with no plan to win the peace, by cavalierly discounting the risks.

You don't do it by repeatedly misleading the American people.

You don't do it by creating and fueling a terrorism problem where there was none.

And you don't do it by shamelessly denigrating the Geneva Conventions and the rights and values that distinguish us from the terrorists.

Unlike the war to defeat the Taliban, which continues to this day and shows no signs of abating, the invasion of Iraq had nothing to do with Osama bin Laden or the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

It has degraded our military in ways that will cost us trillions—not billions—trillions of dollars to rebuild.

It has left a legacy of thousands of maimed and crippled young veterans with medical and other needs that they, their families, and their communities will cope with for the rest of their lives.